

Socialist Worker Monthly Review

#3 • December 2002 • \$2



ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE



AUCKLAND

• Palestine / Israel Rally for Peace.

Saturday, December 7, 2pm to 3pm, Aotea Square, Queen Street. Supporting peace and justice based on removal of Israeli occupation, eight of return for refugees, sharing Jerusalem and cessation of Jewish-only settlements in occupied Palestine. Contact David Wakim (09) 520 0201.

• Global Peace & Justice Auckland committee meeting.

Sunday, December 15, 10am, 84 Paice Ave, Sandringham. Open committee meeting to plan action in the new year including the Peace in The Park concert on February 16.

• First Global Peace & Justice Auckland Forum for 2003.

Monday, February 3, 7.30pm, Trades hall, 147 Great North Rd, Grey Lynn.

• Peace in the Park.

Sunday, February 16, 2003, 2-5pm, Potters Park, Balmoral. A festival of music to protest against war.

WELLINGTON

• Wellington Friends of Tibet event to mark International Human Rights Day

Tuesday 10 December, 6pm to 7-45pm at the City Gallery Auditorium. Speakers and a video presentation, Contact Chris Mathieson (04) 589 1146.

• Free Palestine Exhibition


From 1 December to 15 December at Wellington City Library, 65 Victoria St. Organised by the Wellington Palestine Group, who ask for friends and supporters to e-mail/write /telephone to the library to give positive feedback, since in the past some people in the community have tried to have our displays removed.

• 12th anniversary since the Gulf War

Thursday 16 January 2003. All day peace vigil at the US embassy, from 7-30am to 7-30pm; rally with speakers at 6pm. Contact PMA, (04) 382 812.


• Candle-lit vigil for peace.

Every Thursday 5pm to 6pm at the Cenotaph. For more info contact PMA (04) 382 8129.



Stop the war

DECEMBER 14 RALLIES



★ AUCKLAND ★

An Xmas message for George Bush,

PEACE NOT WAR FOR IRAQ!

No Attack on Iraq • No NZ Support for War • Justice for Palestine • End Sanctions on Iraq

11am, QE2 Square, bottom of Queen St

Organised by **Global Peace & Justice Auckland** phone John 846 3173.

★ WELLINGTON ★

NO WAR ON IRAQ – NO BLOOD FOR OIL!

12 noon, Glover Park, between Garret St and Ghuznee St, March to Midland Park on Lampton Quay.

Organised by **Peace Action Wellington**, contact 382 8129.

• "Behind the News",

Every Saturday on Wellington Access Radio (783 AM), broadcast at 12-30pm. Brought to you by Linda Hobman (04) 380 0194 and Jim Delahunty (04)938 6943.

• "Peace Report"

Every Sunday, on Wellington Access Radio (783 AM), broadcast at 11-45am, Contact Des Brough (04) 388 3173.

NATIONAL

• Waihopai Spybase protest.

Friday 24 to Sunday 26, January 2003.
New Zealand's most significant contribution to the "war on terror" — and any other wars waged by our Western allies — is the Waihopai spybase.
Waihopai must be closed!
We invite people from around the country to join us for the weekend of anti-war protest at this spybase.
Come prepared for roughing it and camping out.
For more info contact the Anti-Bases Campaign, Box 2258, Christchurch, e-mail cafca@chch.planet.org.nz

On the day the war starts, join these emergency anti-war rallies.

AUCKLAND
5pm, outside the US consulate, City Bank building, corner Custom st and Commerce St, Downtown.

WELLINGTON
5pm at the Cenotaph.

CHRISTCHURCH
5:30pm in Cathedral Square.

I'd like to donate

\$ _____

to the Socialist Worker appeal.

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Address _____

Post to Box 13-685 Auckland

PRINTING PRESS APPEAL

Printing tens of thousands of free leaflets has put an increasing drain on our fragile finances.

So Socialist Worker has launched a new fundraising appeal. Our target is to raise the \$10,000 needed to finish paying off our printing press. This is a tall order, but it can be done, in 1999 we raised over \$10,000 to help buy the press.

Since then our press has printed hundreds of thousands of newspapers, leaflets and posters, helping to spread socialist ideas and build many united campaigns.

We need your help to continue, so please send us what money you can.

And if you have any suggestions or examples of good ways of fundraising, let us know.

**Please send donations to Box 13-685 Auckland.
Make cheques out to "In Print Publishing".**

TOTAL \$5664.10

THANKS TO:

NORTHLAND: Vaughan & Sandra \$60.
AUCKLAND: Farrell \$100; Jane \$60; Kane \$5; Paul P \$40; Peter \$20; Roslyn \$20; Sally \$30; Donations \$734.
TIMBERLANDS: Branch \$100
WELLINGTON: Leah \$20; Richard K \$30; Seafarers Union \$500; Street \$7.
OTHER: Kyle \$40; Mike \$20.

Another world is possible

The leader of the world's most powerful "democracy" is about to invade yet another country. He doesn't care that his last war killed thousands of civilians, or that this war will kill thousands more.

The corporations that back him want oil. They don't care that their use of fossil fuels is destabilising the climate.

Our government is preparing to back this war.

They want a free trade deal that will hand even more power to corporations. They don't care that the corporate agenda has destroyed the standard of living of ordinary people in Aotearoa.

One politician who claims he cares about this, is blaming immigrants. He's Maori and says he's not racist. But he backs the cop who gunned-down a young Maori man.

If this was all there was to say about the world today, then there'd be no point in you reading any further.

Happily, the crimes committed by our rulers are provoking active resistance, as well as anger and disgust.

Around the world millions have marched against war and hundreds of thousands have protested against corporate domination. In Aotearoa the biggest manifestation of resistance has been the GE-free campaign, which has mobilised tens of thousands.

The fact that resistance exists — and is growing on so many fronts — shows that millions of people believe an alternative is possible.

If it is possible for millions to shake themselves free of the ideology of our rulers — which says "there is no alternative" and "resistance is futile" — and take to the streets, then it is possible for billions to one day do the same.

When that happens, another world will not just be possible, it will be in the process of being born.

If you want to bring that time closer, read on.

This is the last *Socialist Worker Monthly Review* for 2002. It is also the last by our current editor, David Colyer.

The new editor will be Grant Brookes. His first issue will be published on February 8.

What's on 2

Editorial 3

They said it 4

News Review 4

'The police are murderers'
GE: bite back and defeat it!

FEATURES

Anti-War 6

NZ First not welcome 8

Women's Liberation 9

Shut down Miss World
Fight for equal pay

Anti-Capitalism 10

European Social Forum
Free trade and fair trade
What would a socialist society be like?

Leninism debate 13

Leninism in the 21st century
by John Rees
Workers must free themselves
by Chris Trotter
Real socialism from below
by Mark Eden
Socialist Worker's reply
by Grant Brookes

Reviews 19

Music: Steve Earl's 'Jerusalem'
Books: Naomi Klein's 'Fences and Windows' and 'On the Left — Essays on Socialism in New Zealand'
Film: 'Store Wars — When Wal-Mart Comes to Town'

Socialist Worker news and information 22

Industrial Action 24

Black Caps win by 100,000!
When people are powerful

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TODAY**

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'A sick society and a ruling class that are sons of bitches, all of them, including myself.'

● Argentinian production minister ANIBAL FERNANDEZ when asked to explain the deaths of Argentine children from malnutrition.

'There is an old saying in Tennessee — I know it's in Texas, it's probably in Tennessee — that says: Fool me once... shame on... shame on you. Fool me... you can't get fooled again.'

● GEORGE W BUSH, quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*, 6 October.

'No I think that — I think that if you would read the full — I don't — you know — I'm sure he said other sentences.'

● GEORGE W BUSH, when confronted by a reporter quoting remarks by CIA director George Tenet seeming to warn against a US military strike on Iraq.

'I know what I believe. I will continue to articulate what I believe and what I believe — and I believe what I believe is right.'

● GEORGE W BUSH.

'When I was in jail I was held with British-made handcuffs. In the cells next door, I could hear the screams of people who were having holes drilled into their bones. Those drills were made in Britain.'

● HUSSAIN AL-SHAHRISTANI, former nuclear scientist, tortured and jailed for 11 years for refusing to work on Iraq's nuclear program.

'If I couldn't study psychopaths in Prison, I would go down to the stock exchange.'

● ROBERT HARE, expert on psychopathic behaviour reporting strong psychopathic tendencies among bosses.

'The police are murderers'

By GRANT BROOKES

Keith Abbott, the police officer who gunned down Steven Wallace on the streets of Waitara in April 2000, has just been acquitted of murder.

Unlike other murder trials, this one didn't lead the 6 o'clock news every night.

If it had, more people would know how the police murdered Steven Wallace and then lied to cover it up.

Abbott told the court he fired three times. But witnesses heard four shots and there were four bullet wounds in Steven's body.

Abbott said he fired a warning shot before taking aim. But witnesses heard no warning shot. And a search of the scene didn't find the bullet.

Police commander Mark Lammas said Steven was advancing on Abbott with a baseball bat. But Steven was shot in the side and in the back. He couldn't have been "advancing".

Abbott thought he'd killed someone called David Toa, another Maori man who he'd had run-ins with before.

A witness had heard him say "We've been after you for a long time, David" as he pulled the trigger.

The court hearing was a victory for the Wallace whanau and their long struggle for justice.

They were forced to take the case pri-



Steven Wallace

vately, at enormous cost, after a police investigation started by a former class-mate and "close friend" of Abbott cleared him of any wrong-doing.

The police were backed by all the authorities — the solicitor-general, police complaints authority, the government and the corporate-owned media.

It is not surprising that Abbott was acquitted. The courts have not delivered justice for working class Maori in the past.

Although there were Maori among those called for jury service, the jury selected for the trial contained not one Maori face.

Raewyn Wallace, Steven's grief-stricken mother, told the media after his death: "He was shot for smashing some windows."

"The police are murderers", she said. She's right.

Racism and brutality

Police attitudes to Maori "undoubtedly had a bearing" on the shooting of Steven Wallace, said Helen Clark.

An official briefing produced after the shooting by Te Puni Kokiri (ministry of Maori development) confirmed that Taranaki police are racist.

One officer talked of "generations of scum being produced by some Maori families". And officers like this "were not reprimanded by their superiors for being racist".

Police from round the country interviewed by Radio NZ had all heard racist remarks, like "let's go out and catch some niggers".

An earlier 1998 report from Te Puni Kokiri labelled the police force as a whole "a racist institution which perpetuates strong anti-Maori attitudes".

Racism and brutality are ingrained in police attitudes because they're the front-line defenders of a racist, brutal and unjust system.

The rich few could never keep their

massive wealth from the majority of us at the bottom without the use of force.

Police provide that force. They're always on hand to break collective actions by workers like protests, occupations or picket lines.

And they make sure that the "crimes" born of poverty, frustration and powerlessness don't get out of hand and threaten the system's stability.

Daily confrontations with working class people shape police attitudes.

In their eyes, we become brutes to be brutalised.

Maori are at the bottom of the heap after being robbed of their land in the 19th century.

So today police clash with Maori more often, see them as "trouble" and become racist.

Workers should support every attempt — like the trial of Keith Abbott — to hold our racist and brutal police to account and restrict their power.

GE, DON'T EAT IT: BITE BACK AND DEFEAT IT!



By DAVID COLYER

10,000 people took to the streets of Auckland on Saturday November 16, in the second major demonstration of the GE-free campaign.

The protest, organised by the Auckland GE-Free Coalition (AGEFC), and Madge (Mothers Against Genetic Engineering), had a carnival atmosphere.

A diverse range of organisations and individuals marched, chanted, and stood firm against the release of GE into our food and environment.

The demonstration ended with a party in Albert Park, the Topp Twins and Trinity Roots providing entertainment.

The big and boisterous march encouraged a militant perspective.

Bob Harvey, ex-Labour Party president and mayor of Waitakere City, recalled the struggle in the 1960s to overturn a ban on political demonstrations at Albert Park. He said the next GE-free march must aim to fill the whole park.

Steve Able, speaking for AGEFC, said he was sure that the women of Madge would lead thousands to pull up GE crops. The Green Gloves group, with the slogan: "GE — you plant it, we pull it", collected names on their direct action pledge.

If this focus on building mass protests continues we have a real chance of winning a GE-free Aotearoa. But if the mistakes of a year ago are repeated, and no more big protests are called, then the movement will wilt once more.

Looking at how to take the movement forward, we can draw inspiration from past successes.

The movement against South Africa's racist Apartheid regime mobilised tens of thousands who were prepared to take on baton-wielding police in their attempts to stop the 1981 Springbok rugby tour.

At the height of the nuclear-free campaign waterside workers and seafarers closed ports every time a US warship came near. These strikes spread so the cost of maintaining links with America's nuclear navy was the shut-down of important sec-

tions of the economy.

We need to build a GE-free campaign that mobilises thousands to protest outside every conference or hearing that promotes or permits the release of GE organisms.

We need a movement which answers every attempt to grow GE crops with thousands of people converging to pull them up.

We need to create an anti-GE atmosphere that makes ordinary people feel so powerful, so confident, that transportation workers refuse to handle GE products and super-market workers refuse to stock them on the shelves.

The 10,000 people who marched on

November 16 have revived the GE-free movement. They clearly demonstrated the power of mass protests which unite thousands of people in action.

But that does not mean that the everyone within the movement now agrees that more mass protests are the way forward. The success of the march will also have revived the hopes of those who see individualised actions like consumer boycotts, voting or appeals to parliament as the way to stop GE.

To keep the movement alive, socialists and other activists who believe mass actions are the best way to fight GE need to organise themselves within the movement.



LABOUR COMMITS TO WAR

A US-led attack on Iraq is likely to result in 48,000 to 260,000 deaths in the first three months of combat. This is the conclusion of a study carried out by the Medical Association for Prevention of War (MAPW) in Australia.

The report is based on casualties in the 1990-91 Gulf War, which were 205,000, and current US combat strategies.

Despite this horrific potential the Labour government has moved closer to openly supporting the US's war on Iraq.

After the UN Security Council delivered its "zero tolerance" resolution on Iraq, Helen Clark confirmed that if the Security Council approved a US-led attack, then "New Zealand as a conscientious member of the United Nations, would look to see if it could make a contribution."

She might have added that this "contribution" is already well advanced. NZ military personnel have been based at the US HQ in Florida for some time, where plans are being drawn up for the invasion of Iraq.

And on November 12 the government confirmed its support by announcing the deployment of the frigate *Te Kaha* to the Gulf region, with an Orion aircraft to follow.

In a staggering case of "double-speak", the government claimed that both are being sent as part of New Zealand's contribution to the "war on terror", and are not part of the military build-up against Iraq.

But as Green MP Keith Locke rightly points out:

"The Pentagon has begun the biggest military build-up in a decade in precisely the part of the world where our frigate and surveillance plane are to be operating. How can this commitment be anything other than backing the White House's "big stick" policy on Iraq?

"Everyone will understand this as send-



ing a signal that New Zealand is prepared to countenance the use of force against Iraq."

It is certainly a message the US administration received loud and clear.

Three days after the government dispatched *Te Kaha* to the Gulf, US Trade Representative, Robert Zoellick, announced that he would consult congress about the inclusion of New Zealand in free trade talks between the US and Australia.

Helen Clark, responding to the Zoellick's announcement, acknowledged the trade-off being made. She said that New Zealand has been "a good friend and strong supporter in the international campaign against terrorism... Probably this has led to some revision of the thinking about New Zealand."

The US has been looking to gain support from other governments for its war on Iraq through a combination of threats, bribes and deals.

No matter what spin our government tries to put on it, it is clear that Labour is prepared to make a blood for dollars deal with the US.

In this, they are heeding the calls of NZ business leaders, who are eyeing the profits to be had from a free trade deal with the US.

The government may continue to publicly call for a UN-mandated war on Iraq, not a go-it-alone action by the US, but this is nothing more than a cynical slight of hand.

It is apparent that the US has bullied the UN Security Council into delivering a resolution that opens the way for war.

And UN mandated or not, the death toll will be the same, and the US will, either way, be realising its global ambitions.

Thanks to Helen Clark's Labour government, New Zealand will be an accomplice to these crimes.

Unions must speak out against war

Historically the trade union movement in New Zealand has played an important role in struggles like the nuclear free movement and the anti-apartheid movement.

They added real weight to the respective movements because when workers protest or take strike action they cut off the flow of profits, which soon makes the bosses and politicians take notice.

Unions also have an organisation structure that can mobilise and distribute information to large sections of the population; this is true even though New Zealand's current union coverage is only 20% of the workforce.

Yet it is fair to say that unions have been slow to get involved in the current anti-war movement in New Zealand.

At this stage, only a handful of unions have passed anti-war resolutions.

Aste, the union of polytech lecturers, has

passed by the far the strongest resolution. It calls on our government to refrain from supporting any military action against Iraq, including any action mandated by the UN.

The NZ Seafarers Union passed a resolution at an International Union Conference. While condemning the US drive to war, it falls short of the Aste resolution, in that it does not categorically oppose a UN approved war. Section 5 of the resolution does, however, state "that military action is not a solution to the inadequacies of a profit driven social system that increasingly cannot look after the people of the world."

Jill Owens, outgoing president of Aste, wants the Council of Trade Unions (CTU) to support the anti-war movement.

She believes resolutions, like that passed by affiliate unions like Aste are important in getting the National Affiliates Council

of the CTU to take a strong stand.

To do this, "rank and file members have to impress on their union leadership how concerned they are about the war", she says.

"But at the same time union leaders are in a position to give leadership on this issue."

Owens cites an anti-war rally in Melbourne which she recently attended.

"What struck me in Melbourne, where there was 45,000 people according to the organisers, was that it was lead by the trade unions. Union leaders spoke, there were union banners... it was fantastic."

This what we need to see in New Zealand if we are going to put maximum pressure on Labour for a complete withdrawal of support for America's war on Iraq. This has to be the goal; the powerful ranks of the working class will be essential.

Security Council gives green light to US war plans

By VAUGHAN GUNSON

On November 9 the United Nations Security Council delivered a resolution to satisfy war-planners in the Pentagon.

As you read this Iraq may have already — in US eyes — breached the requirements of the resolution, and war may be under way or imminent.

This is because there are a number of “tripwires” designed to give the US the excuse it wants to go to war.

On December 8 the Iraqi regime must hand over details of its weapons of mass destruction to UN weapons inspectors.

Iraq says it no longer has any weapons of mass destruction or a programme to build them. This claim is backed by former US weapons inspector Scott Ritter.

But the US has signalled that it is not going to believe the Iraqis, even if weapons inspectors turn-up no evidence disputing their claims.

Richard Perle, chairman of the American’s defence policy board recently told British MPs:

“I cannot see how Hans Blix [head of the UN inspection team] can state more than he can know. All he can know is the results of his own investigations. And that does not prove Saddam does not have weapons of mass destruction.”

It would simply mean that they were well hidden, according to Perle.

And Colin Powell, the US Secretary of State, has said:

“Should he [Saddam Hussein] again deny that this arsenal exists, he will have entered his final stage with a lie, and deception this time will not be tolerated.”

If Iraq admits to possessing weapons of mass destruction the US would claim justification for an invasion, if Iraq continues its denials the US will still attack.

The “zero tolerance” resolution by the Security Council also gives the US the power to decide if the Iraqis have hindered UN weapons inspectors in any way, providing another pretext for war. The US can even attack Iraq while the Security Council is still discussing breaches of the resolution.

The conditions of the resolution, which gives no room to Iraq and gives the US free reign to unleash terror on the people of Iraq, was agreed upon by all Security Council members.

Permanent members, France, Russia and China, gave their support once their respective oil investments in Iraq were safeguarded under any post-war carve-up of the country. While Britain’s Tony Blair has been a gung-ho supporter of the US from day one.

The other non-permanent members of the Security Council were simply bullied and bribed.

Syria was told that if it did not back the US it would be declared a “terror state” and would be next in line.

Mauritius, a small island off the coast of Africa, was pressured into agreeing because it receives aid from the US under the US African Growth and Opportunity Act, which says that the money stops if “the recipient engages in activities contrary to US foreign policy interests”.

The latest UN Security Council resolution on Iraq is a conspiracy to justify mass murder by the world’s most powerful state.

IT’S STILL AN OIL WAR

One way or another the US will find a pretext for invading Iraq.

Bombing of sites in Iraq by US and British planes has been intensified in recent months. And plans for an invasion, involving 200,000 troops, are well advanced.

This march to war is being driven by the combined military and economic gains that a US controlled Iraq would deliver.

The twin goals are continued US military presence in the region, and the opening up of Iraq’s oil fields — the world’s second largest — to US multinationals.

Commenting on the policy coming from Washington, former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia, James E. Akins, said:

“What they have in mind is denationalisation, and then parcelling Iraqi oil out to American oil companies.”

At present, Iraq’s crippled industry produces two million barrels of oil a day. That productivity could easily be improved with new investment; production could go as high as eight million barrels a day.

If this was controlled by a new US puppet regime, America’s energy needs would be secured for years to come; thereby decreasing their reliance on oil purchased from Saudi Arabia.

In this way, the US would get a jump on its economic rivals.

As one American oil industry executive has put it:

“We don’t have a stake in Iraq now... One of the frustrations that US oil companies have is that the Russians, the French and the Chinese already have existing relations with Iraq. And the question is: how much of that will be sanctified by the people who succeed Saddam?”

The Bush administration remains committed to “regime change”; the alternative could only be seen as a defeat for US interests, intolerable to the oil industry tycoons and military strategists currently running US foreign policy.



Phil Goff and George W Bush prepare for war.



Migrants are welcome racists are not

Why we say NZ First is racist



Seven members and supporters of Socialist Worker protested outside New Zealand First's National Convention at Auckland's Alexandra Park Raceway on Saturday, November 9.

As our press release put it:

"We want to show our opposition to NZ First's campaign of racist scapegoating.

"NZ First spreads prejudice while posing as the defenders 'ordinary New Zealanders'.

"They blame migrants for problems in schools and hospitals, but they fail to support teachers and health workers who want more funding to solve staff shortages.

"The solution to these sorts of problems is for working class New Zealanders of all cultures to unite and fight together for a better deal."

Although our numbers were small we had a big impact. We were on TV3 news that night and National Radio's Morning Report the Monday after.

A friendly security guard told us NZ First leaders were worried by our presence. Several passing motorists tooted their support.

Socialist Worker believes this sort of up-front public opposition is crucial to combating New Zealand First's racism, and hope many more people will join us next time.

Racism is about more than prejudiced ideas in the heads of individuals, it's about institutionalised systems of division and discrimination.

Immigration controls were first introduced in this country in the 1880s. They targeted Chinese and Dalmatian/Yugoslavian immigrants. These groups didn't fit into the vision of an "Aryan" master race held by many of this nation's founding fathers.

The 1880s were also a time of economic depression, mass unemployment and the rise of this country's first militant trade unions.

Scare stories about the "yellow peril" of Chinese immigration enforced the nationalistic idea that White workers and bosses must unite against the "lesser races". This helped undermine this new unionism and win workers' backing for the British Empire's colonial wars.

Today, in many Western countries, conservative and, in some cases, Labour politicians are again turning to the racist tactics of divide and rule, in attempt to justify imperialist war and divert anti-capitalist anger.

New Zealand First's racism is not simply pandering to pre-existing prejudice, they are wielding racism as an ideological weapon in the class war.

Labour's cave-in gives courage to racists

On election night Helen Clark rightly attacked New Zealand First for their politics of prejudice.

But her government's most recent reaction to NZ First's racism has been to put that party's policies into practice, by introducing a harsher language test for migrants.

As the editor of the *New Zealand Herald* put it:

"In reaching for a language test to stem the flow it is resorting to a thoroughly disreputable tool of racial discrimination down through time. It is reminiscent of the segregationist electoral qualifications of America's southern states where language

tests were easily manipulated for racist purposes."

According to the *Herald*:

"The Government has raised the bar to the point that applicants in the general skills category will need to speak and read English to university standard rather than the secondary school level that was sufficient previously."

Labour's cave-in has encouraged NZ First to step up its campaign. It is now returning to the old theme that Muslim immigrants are a "security threat", a task made easier by the government's support for the bogus "war on terrorism".

The National Party have joined in too,

and are attempting to broaden the scope of the scapegoating.

They are calling for restrictions on the number of immigrants from the Pacific, an issue NZ First has tended to avoid. They have also jumped on the other racist bandwagon, attacking so-called "Maori privileges".

This highlights that attacks on immigrants are an issue for all grassroots people to be concerned about.

As well as showing our opposition to NZ First, anti-racists have to send a message to Labour that their hypocritical condemnation and copying of Winston Peters is not good enough.

SHUT DOWN MISS WORLD

By DAPHNE LAWLESS

Miss World contestants were gathering in London as *Socialist Worker Monthly Review* went to press.

The pageant, due to be held on December 7, was shifted from Nigeria following mass protests which left over 200 people dead.

The move led to crowing in the corporate-owned media about how "advanced" women are in the West.

The *Dominion Post* editorial on September 27 said: "The days when so-called women's libbers lambasted contests like this as mere cattle-markets are waning.

"Women — in the West at least — can do almost anything they choose, including parade lissom limbs and ample appendages before a judging panel to be named the planet's loveliest."

This is just plain wrong. Protests against Miss World and other beauty pageants are back. British anti-capitalist group Globalise Resistance will be protesting the contest in London.

And the fact an editorial in a major newspaper can applaud the marketing of women's "limbs and appendages" is a sure sign women are still oppressed here.

In the 1960s, beauty pageants offered women oppor-



tunities for success and travel, at the cost of marketing their sexuality.

Today, such contests have waned in popularity and influence with the greater acceptance of women in the workforce.

British journalist Gaby Wood says that now "women have other options, and that wearing a bikini for a man's inspection is no longer seen as the road to freedom".

The other options, though, are fewer in countries like India and Nigeria, which still have an industry of "producing beauty queens".

In the same way that workers in poor countries suffer working conditions which

Western workers have struggled to overcome, so the women of poor countries must fight again the battles won for women's liberation.

But that doesn't mean the struggle here is anywhere near won.

Miss World was last held in London two years ago. It was met by vibrant protest. Wellington teacher LINDA MARTELLETTI explains why she was there: "Protesting outside the Miss World competition was one way for me to express my anger. Miss World contestants are held up as the "ideal" — "what young women aspire to". This ideal is rammed down our throats daily, in magazines, TV, films, newspapers, billboards. It's used to sell products and make women feel inadequate. Protesting with a large group of women and men, chanting "Our bodies, our lives, our world — Not for sale!", gave me a sense of strength and hope."

The Council of Trade Unions, the Green Party and even Helen Clark had called for a boycott of the pageant because of violence against women in Nigeria.

They should still oppose this sexist cattle-market now it's in London.

Miss World Capitalism

New Zealand women do two hours more housework than men each day.

Capitalists rely on the housework women do for free.

Without it, their employees wouldn't turn up in the morning ready for work. Children wouldn't grow up "adjusted" to the market.

Miss World teaches women to be "lovely", aiming to please men as wives, partners and mothers.

Most women don't have millionaire parents like Miss NZ. They couldn't conform to the pageant's artificial ideas about beauty even if they wanted to.

This reinforces women's feelings of inferiority, and pushes them into the role that capitalism demands.

Fight for equal pay

By GRANT BROOKES

Helen Clark said that pay equity for women was "not a priority" shortly after taking office three years ago.

But pay equity is now back on the agenda.

The average hourly rate for a working woman in New Zealand is just 84% of a man's pay.

But because more women work part time or rely on benefits, and because Labour has refused to reverse National's savage benefit cuts, women's average weekly income is just 60% of what men take home.

Half the women in New Zealand today are living on less than \$14,500 a year and the pay gap is growing.

The ministry of women's affairs has released a report on women's income. Titled *Next Steps Towards Pay Equity*, it

asked for responses. It also suggested new laws to close the gap.

But New Zealand passed an Equal Pay Act in 1972. It was supposed to outlaw lower pay for women by 1977.

Employers simply found ways around the law, with the connivance of governments and the courts.

Pay equity won't be delivered from above by government legislation. The report admits that laws against discrimination alone will "not address inequalities in women's and men's average pay".

It also admits "there would be costs to employers, including government", of any steps towards equality. And Labour won't agree to that unless they're forced to.

But *Next Steps* has also renewed discussion in the union movement. Unions led the fight for pay equity in the past.

The top leaders of the CTU have responded by paying lip-service to pay

equity, parroting the report. But some unionists have better ideas.

Amanda Coulston, president of the primary teachers' union, told the NZEI conference in September that pay parity between (mainly female) primary teachers their secondary colleagues was also a victory for pay equity.

Next Steps agrees that "an effective starting point" might be "the most common occupations in which women, and Maori and Pacific women, are concentrated".

Parity for primary teachers was won through strikes and protests.

The Service & Food Workers Union is currently battling for a pay rise for the mostly female caregivers in North Island rest homes.

Instead of parroting the government, the CTU should fight for pay equity by supporting and spreading industrial campaigns like this.

European Social Forum: a triumph!

By CHARLIE KIMBER

The European Social Forum in Florence, Italy, from November 7–9, vastly exceeded even the most optimistic predictions. It did not just succeed — it was a political triumph.

Around 60,000 people took part in the three days of meetings leading up to the anti-war demonstration on November 9.

People came from every continent, and from 105 countries. There were students and trade unionists, unemployed people and pensioners, activists and campaigners.

The gathering of so many people committed to building an alternative to war and capitalism terrified the right.

The Italian state, headed by Silvio Berlusconi, tried to stop the forum. There were threats to ban it, and then dire rumours about how vandals and anarchists were coming to burn Florence down.

All of this intimidation came to nothing. Berlusconi had to back off because of the groundswell of support for the forum and the trade unions backing for it.

The forum organised 30 rally-type meetings, 160 seminars which were slightly smaller, and a further 180 workshops. These covered every important subject. On one morning you could go to big rallies — between 500 and 5,000 strong — on globalisation and the alternatives, food production, “no justice, no peace”, the emergence of the far right across Europe, in defence of people denied rights, or on how to take back control of the media and culture.

Of course not everyone agreed about what was said or said the same things. There were sharp arguments about whether you can work inside the present system or have to smash it.

There were differences over the relation between the anti-capitalist movement and political parties. There were debates over whether leadership is needed, and what leadership means. But there was an overarching sense of unity. And every day the general feeling grew more radical.

The forum was a huge step forward for the movement that burst into view at the World Trade Organisation protests in Seattle at the end of 1999 and developed in Genoa in June 2001.

The pace and extent of the change is so great that perhaps after Florence we should talk of a new movement, a new left which is offering a potential that has not existed for years. The forum met with the world in the shadow of war. It offered a cry against all the horrors of capitalism, but also pointed towards the battles that will be necessary to do away with those horrors.



One million march against war

Up to a million people marched against war through the Italian city of Florence on November 9.

All day they arrived to swell the city to two or three times its normal size. The march was a dense, colourful and energetic show of total opposition to any attack on Iraq.

Coming the day after the United Nations Security Council vote, it sent the defiant message that millions will take action against war.

The march was made up of teenagers

and 90 year olds, trade unionists, debt campaigners and political parties, people from all over Italy and delegations from other countries who came after attending the European Social Forum.

The start time even had to be brought forward three hours in an effort to clear space for the hundreds of thousands pouring onto the streets. By early evening, hours after the first marchers had come to the end of the demonstration, great swathes of trade unionists were just starting off.

There were thousands of anti-war banners and placards with slogans such as “Stop global war”, “Peace not war”, “Don’t attack Iraq”, and “Bush, Blair, Berlusconi are murderers”. But there were also wider slogans: “People before profit”, “For a just and equal Europe”, “Anti-capitalist”, “F**k capitalism, f**k imperialism” and, very popular, “One solution, revolution”.

Few marchers reached the end of the route without feeling intensely emotional about the power of the day and the bonds it had created between generations of

Voices from the ESF

I feel angry that the war is coming and happy that so many people are against it. We are the majority! They have no right to take us to war. Today Florence was our city and our streets, not Berlusconi's or Bush's.

■ **FELICITA GALIMBERTI,**
student from Turin.

Over 400 seminars and workshops were held. Some were small — many were huge, with up to 6,000 people packed in one or other of the vast halls. There was an overwhelming consensus based on opposition to war, anti-racism, justice for the Palestinians, and opposition to privatisation and neo-liberal policies.

As someone who became politically active in the 1960s, this was an affirmation that we are at the beginning of a new movement that runs broader and deeper than the radicalisation of the '60s.

■ **PETE CANNELL, Edinburgh.**

Our spark school student delegation was one of the liveliest. Louder and more energetic than ever, we took inspiration from the million people who united against the war to say, "Another world is possible." We chanted, "A...anti, anti...capitalista! Overthrow the system — revolution socialista!" first in a whisper and then getting louder and louder until we charged.

■ **HANNAH KUHLER, age 16, Britain.**

I spoke in an anti-war meeting. It was terrifying. There were about 3,000 people in the room. We held up our banner and talked about the significance of the "Out Against the War" initiative for the lesbian and gay movement.

Everyone I know who attended has a gleam in their eyes. We can win. Things can change.

■ **KATE RICHARDSON, Britain.**

What struck me about the demo was the reception we received from the people of Florence. They were standing at the side of the demo, clapping and shaking people's hands. The people with tablecloths with "Peace" written on them, hanging out the windows, cheering us on.

■ **LIZ RODERS, Britain.**

Unfree and unfair

The aims of fair trade face a hostile system, writes **CHRIS HARMAN.**

"The gap between rich and poor is a growing problem", says a new TV advert for Trade Aid shops. "Fair trade is part of the solution."

Many in the anti-capitalist movement would agree.

As does the Green Party in New Zealand, which advocates "fair trade, not free trade" as a solution to Third World poverty.

But measures like "fair trade" only scratch the surface of the problem.

Fair trade coffee, for instance, involves companies set up by western Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) guaranteeing Third World coffee farmers a market with fixed prices in return for control over the methods and quality of production.

The coffee is then sold through shops like Trade Aid. Who get the usual mark-up on the price.

This can improve the situation of individual groups of farmers, but fair trade coffee only accounts for 1.5 percent of world raw coffee bean sales, and comes at the expense of other coffee farmers who do not have links with the fair trade organisations.

And businesses like Trade Aid still have to look to the bottom line in competition with other retailers. This affects what price they can guarantee growers in the Third World.

A too high price and they risk fewer sales, and therefore less profit. As Penny Newsman, managing director of the British based Fairtrade company, acknowledges, "first and foremost we are a business".

Such efforts, as well intentioned as they may be, will do little to solve the central causes of Third World poverty.

The problem is falling commodity prices, caused by supply exceeding what people can afford to buy.

This can be seen in the crisis hitting workers and peasants involved in coffee growing worldwide.

The price paid to coffee producers has slumped over the last three years, causing hundreds of thousands of people to experience desperate hunger. The catastrophe can be traced back to the WTO/IMF/neoliberal message that trade is the answer to poverty.

Vietnam's rulers, in the 1990s, accepted this message and turned the country into the world's second biggest coffee producer.

But at the time most of the world was suffering from stagnating or falling living standards, hence world production of coffee shot ahead of what people could afford to buy. Prices dropped and the return to Vietnamese peasant farmers has been at subsistence levels.

Other coffee exporting countries have

been similarly affected.

In response, Oxfam has recently proposed that Western governments jointly intervene to raise profits for Third World coffee producers.

They have even advocated burning huge amounts of coffee to remove it from the market. Which is no different to the obscene capitalist method of destroying stocks of goods to make their production more profitable - as if the problem was not that people are too poor to buy them, but that too many of the things they wanted were being produced. Coffee is drunk by many poor people in regions like the Middle East and Latin America who would like more, not less.

Things might be different for Third World producers if global output and consumption were growing rapidly. In that case, workers and peasants worldwide would be getting the higher incomes needed to buy the increased output of Third World goods and commodities.

But that is not happening. The three centres of the global economy - North America, Europe and Japan - are all stagnating or growing very slowly.

The overwhelming bulk of their trade and investment is directed towards each other, with a small portion going to a handful of "newly industrialising economies" and hardly any to the rest of the world.

This is because capitalists - including Third World capitalists - see the most profitable place for investment as the already industrialised countries.

For them, much of the rest of the world only serves two purposes. It can be squeezed for interest payments on debt. And it can provide a stream of profits for western multinationals that have bought up much of its basic infrastructure under IMF-imposed structural adjustment programmes.

The pressure to export is pressure to get the minimal sums necessary to cover these outflows of money. It can only add to the impoverishment of wide sections of people.

Fair trade for a minority of producers is not going to change this unequal relationship.

Focusing on rules and conditions of trade, however, can distract the movement against globalisation from seeing where the real problems lie.

Third World poverty is a product of a global system dominated by the concentrations of capital at its core and the smaller concentrations around the edges. Dealing with poverty means challenging those who run these concentrations, the multinationals and the states that support them.

JONATHAN NEALE, longtime activist and socialist, spoke to a huge meeting organised by Globalise Resistance at the European Social Forum in Florence on...

On all of our demonstrations we chant "Another world is possible". But what does this mean?

On one of the anti-capitalist marches in London last year several people arrived with a big home-made banner that said "Overthrow capitalism and replace it with something nicer".

That's where millions of people in the worldwide movement are at now. We know what we're against, but there is endless debate and searching for what we are for. Here is one view, my view, of what another world would look like.

First, it would be absolutely nothing like the old dictatorships in the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and Cuba. Our alternative is not a police state.

But nor would it be like the parliamentary democracies. It's not that I'm against voting. The problem is partly that we only get to vote every five years and, whoever we elect, they never do what they promised.

But the real problem is that, although we have democratic parliaments, work is a dictatorship.

From the moment you clock on to the moment you leave, you do what you're told. "If you don't like it, Jonathan," they say, "you can go."

We spend the majority of our lives getting ready for work, going there, working, coming home, and then slumping to recover ourselves.

So the dictatorship at work means our fundamental experience of life is not democratic. And the corporations and the employers run the political world anyway.

It starts long before we're old enough to work. School and university are dictatorships too, preparing and disciplining us for the world of work.

So we would start another world with democracy at work. We would elect the managers from among ourselves, replacing them whenever we want.

The representatives from every workplace could meet together in each city every week to make decisions about what to do with the economy.

In most towns the only place big enough to hold them would be the football stadium.

WHAT WOULD A SOCIALIST SOCIETY BE LIKE?



Then they could elect reps to a national meeting, and that national meeting could elect reps to international meetings.

Every week we could replace our reps if we wanted, at every level.

Of course some people don't work. Retired people could elect reps at clubs, and so could children at school.

In capitalism every company must compete, and profit is the criterion.

In our new world we could make decisions based on what we need, not on profit.

There would be endless debates in those meetings. Some people will want to put a lot more work into looking after old people. Others will want a lot more musicians and artists.

Some will want to work only four days, and abolish Monday straight off.

Others will want to keep

working hard to bring the poor countries of the world up to the level of the rich. Some will want to put all our energy into the environment.

There will be endless debates, and we will settle them by consensus when we can, by votes when we must.

Some of our decisions will turn out wrong. The key is that they will be really democratic.

One of the glories of our movement, and one of the surprising things, is that we all seem to be agreed on the central importance of democracy.

I don't know exactly what those meetings will decide. I think we'll want equality, with everyone earning the same.

I think we'll want to share out jobs, so everyone spends part of every year doing the really good jobs, and everyone takes a turn at the boring, hard, difficult jobs.

It wouldn't be a perfect

world. People would still die, or feel unloved.

There would still be problems. But it would be a far, far better world.

The people we are now could not create this new world. In fighting for it, and in winning it, we would become quite different people.

Think how much you have changed just by this one experience of the European Social Forum, the confidence and hope you have. Then think of that multiplied a thousand times or more in far bigger struggles, and you have some idea how we would change.

We have all grown up under capitalism. We carry the scars of much suffering, of grief, of being made to feel small.

I smoke. I'm overweight. But each of us carries that suffering in our bodies, in the way we stand and walk.

Look at any baby, at their great eyes drinking in the world in wonder and excitement. And then look at the adults.

We would create a world where that wonder could last into adulthood. And those people, raised in a new way, could go on to create yet another world.

I don't know if we'll do this in families or not. It may turn out everybody wants a standard family with 2.4 children and a white picket fence.

Maybe half the population will turn out to be lesbian or gay. Maybe all the lesbians and gays will want the 2.4 children and the picket fence.

But I do know we will be able to make these decisions democratically, with the right to choose what we really want.

We are now at the beginning of the anti-capitalist movement. Before us is a long hard road, with many ups and downs.

We will win victories we cannot now imagine, and live through shattering defeats. In the process, we will grow in numbers, and all of us will change profoundly.

I'm 54 years old, and have been a revolutionary all my adult life. Until a year ago I didn't think I'd see another world in my lifetime.

Ever since the great demonstration in Genoa last year I have known that it is now possible.

What is the best way for activists who want to change the world to organise themselves? Socialist Worker answers this question by drawing on the ideas of Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik party, who took the lead in the 1917 Russian revolution.

British socialist John Rees has written a short article on Lenin's relevance today. We liked it so we decided to re-print it. We also invited left-wing commentator Chris Trotter and anarchist activist Mark Eden to outline their criticisms and alternatives to Leninism. The debate is rounded off with our reply to a few of the points raised by Chris and Mark.

Leninism in the 21st century

By JOHN REES

Lenin's theory of the party is one of the most disputed questions on the left, certainly since the Bolshevik Revolution, and it is one of the most important in terms of how the left is organising around current anti-capitalist and industrial struggles. It is also a central issue in the political debates about creating a socialist alternative to Labourism.

One of the most common misapprehensions about the revolutionary party is that it is something imposed on the working class from the outside. The picture is that a group of ideologues get together, form a party and, using the most undemocratic means, impose their will on the rest of the working class movement. In fact, properly understood, Lenin's theory of the party implies exactly the opposite. Its necessity emerges out of the very nature of working class struggle. There is a central feature of working class resistance to the capitalist system which demands that we understand how some of us can organise to strengthen the organisation and consciousness of the whole class.

The fundamental issue here, and an issue that Lenin confronted very early on, is the way in which the struggle against the system is inherently uneven. Different groups of workers, at different times, with different sets of ideas, move into struggle against the system. This is the problem of uneven consciousness in the working class movement. If life were simpler, if the ruling class lined up their forces on one side and workers lined up on the other side, perhaps no further discussion of political organisation would be necessary. But this is not how the class struggle works. Everywhere we look we see, instead of neat regimentation, a hugely differentiated field



Leninism in the 21st century. British socialists at the European Social Forum in Florence last month.

of battle. There are the discontinuities of time — periods of intense class conflict are followed by periods of quietude. There are discontinuities in the type of struggle that takes place — some are economic, others political and still others ideological. Then there are the discontinuities between different sections of the working class—different traditions, conflicting working class ideologies, varying levels of consciousness, confidence and combativity and so on. The battles are many and diverse. Workers have varying strengths and weaknesses, can win or be defeated, can generalise in different directions and come to different conclusions. Finally, there are the discontinuities between the working class and other sections of society that may find themselves opposed to the capitalist system — for instance peasants, sections of the petty bourgeoisie, oppressed nationalities.

All this presents any socialist — Len-

inist or not — with a particular problem: how is it that we can develop organisations within the working class that can relate to this fundamental fact about working class struggle?

There is of course a traditional response within the working class movement, a response which has as long a tradition as, if not longer than, Leninism: the Labour Party in Britain and reformist parties internationally. The notion here was that the party represents the class in its totality — that every strand of opinion within the working class should be represented within the organisation. The goal of such organisations is to alter the condition of the working class using the institutions provided by the system — the parliamentary system, local councils, etc. The fundamental difficulty with such an approach (and we can review the history of Labour governments in office to justify this claim) is that, so long as the



Revolution in Serbia in 2000

system continues to dominate the lives and the ideas of workers, the organisation itself will end up reflecting the ideology of the system. It will turn from an organisation of resistance to an organisation of incorporation. Moreover, the political institutions of the capitalist system are incapable of effectively countering the political and economic power of the capitalist class.

We need an alternative view of how party organisation relates to the broader struggle of the working class. It is this idea more than any other with which Lenin's name is associated. The basic conception is that there emerges from the working class struggle a militant minority that is convinced by its experience that the system has to be transformed as a whole, that the direct methods of struggle employed by the working class are the most efficacious methods of doing so.

The key question then becomes, how do we organise a minority so that they become the lever which can raise the combativity of the entire class? We don't seek to simply "represent" the class, but to represent the traditions of struggle, the high points of class struggle, and bring that experience together with the activity of the minority into the current struggles.

The idea of an organised minority is not that it cuts itself off from the rest of the working class or imposes its will on them, but that through interaction in struggle with the rest of the working class it seeks to spread its ideas and to win a majority within the movement. Georg Lukács put it very well: we separate in order to unite. We separate in an organisation that is, in principle, opposed to the system, but at every opportunity we seek to unite in particular struggles with the majority of the class in order to advance the whole class struggle. The interaction between party and class is vital here.

Any revolutionary party that is worth

its salt is about learning from people in struggle and generalising what it learns throughout the class. The party learns from the class, but it is also the mechanism by which every section of the class learns from the best experiences of struggle.

This form of organisation is absolutely necessary in the situation in which we now find ourselves. The principle that we stand in opposition to the capitalist system, that we will fight its market logic and the state repression that it entails, is still vital. We need no other argument than the shooting of Carlo Giuliani on the great anti-capitalist demonstration in Genoa in July 2001 to remind us that we still have a state machine that will use deadly force when threatened. But that is only part of it. The real core of this idea of opposition to the system is that it determines how we act in each and every struggle. If you believe, as every Leninist believes, that ordinary working people have the capacity to completely transform the system by democratic organisations, workers' councils, built from the rank and file up, it affects how you treat every day to day struggle.

In every struggle, every strike meeting or campaign meeting, there will always be more than one argument put in the room. There will always be people who will say, "We don't want to rock the boat. We don't want too big a protest. We should just write to our MP, use the established channels," and so on. There will be other people, revolutionaries who in principle believe that working people have the capacity to change the system from below, who will argue differently. They will say, "No matter how small the struggle in which we are engaged, it is mass organisation, it is the involvement of people in demonstrations, it is the ability of people to elect strike committees so that they don't get told what to do by the officials, that can give us the best chance of winning." It is that principle embodied in

each struggle before the revolution which makes the revolutionary principle active in every struggle on the way to the complete transformation of society.

Only an organisation that believes in this end of the day goal will raise this same prospect in each struggle as we go along. When it comes to strikes it will be people coming from this tradition who will most consistently raise the idea of picketing, asking for solidarity from other workers, of strikers relying on their own strength and not relying on the trade union leaders, the local MP or the local paper to do the fighting for them. The key question within the anti-capitalist movement is that of mass working class mobilisation as opposed to, on the one hand, compromising with the IMF or WTO or, on the other hand, allowing a small elite of activists to substitute for mass action. When it comes to building an alternative to Labourism, the debate is about how we recompose an alternative to Labour's corporate agenda from the rank and file up.

In all of these cases what is required is one militant, helped by his comrades, supported by his press, to stand up and say, "No, we all need to do it together." In that famous scene in the film *Spartacus*, someone stands up first and says, "I am Spartacus," not because they could do it on their own — if no one else had stood up after them and said, "I am Spartacus," they would have been isolated and victimised — but somebody said it first, and them saying it first allowed everybody else to say it after them. The act of a minority triggers the act of resistance of the majority, and that is what guarantees us the greatest chance of victory.

● *This article is a cut down version of one that appeared in issue 95 of International Socialism, the quarterly journal of the Socialist Workers Party (Britain).*

Workers must free themselves

By CHRIS TROTTER

Freiderich Engels was quite correct when he broke down the elements of revolutionary struggle into three broad categories: the economic, the political and the ideological. At different times and in different places one or the other of these categories will assume a salience which dictates the general contours of the revolutionist's mission. The point that I will attempt to make in this brief article is that in 21st Century New Zealand the only viable focus for revolutionary activity is ideological. Under these circumstances, the greatest need is for free and open debate involving as many layers of the working class as possible. The Marxist-Leninist mode of organisation, dedicated as it is to injecting a single "party line" into all forms of struggle, would appear to be singularly ill-adapted to operating successfully in current New Zealand conditions.

So great has been the devastation wrought by the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology in the 1980s and '90s, that the vast majority of the population finds it extremely difficult to think about alternative political, social and economic ideas with any degree of intellectual clarity. This is particularly true of the working class, whose key organs of class defence — the trade unions and the New Zealand Labour Party — long ago abandoned anything approaching robust ideological debate.

What passes for "left-wing" ideological struggle in contemporary New Zealand is located — almost exclusively — in the New Social Movements. University courses offering "Women's Studies" and "Maori Studies" transmit the basic tenets of identity politics to small groups of mostly middle-class university students, who then proceed to entrench them in state and corporate bureaucracies, the education system, and iwi authorities.

That such intense ideological work is permitted to occur alongside the more traditional ideological functions of the university (ie training the next generation of capitalist managers) indicates the essential compatibility of identity politics with the broader needs of mature capitalist societies. The ideological systems that have grown up around the issues of gender



Lenin addresses a crowd during the Russian Revolution

and race have proved, contrary to the expectations of their founders, to be highly integrative. What began as challenges to a racist and sexist capitalist order have been subtly transformed into powerful weapons for disrupting and diverting any struggle from below.

The vulnerability of the Marxist-Leninist organisational model was revealed in the early 1980s as the intensity of identity politics reached critical mass. Unwilling or unable to preserve the primacy of class analyses in the face of the challenge of separatist ideologies, the Marxist-Leninist Workers Communist League effectively abandoned the class struggle in favour of organising against the "patriarchy", or in support of *tino rangatiratanga*. This new party line, thrust forward with the dogmatic certainty so characteristic of democratic centralist organisations, served only to further intensify the ideological confusion among working-class women and Maori — who were much more concerned about the intentions of their bosses than they were with the depredations of the patriarchy or the racist settler state.

At a deeper — almost psychological — level, however, the purveyors of separatist ideology and the Marxist-Leninists have a great deal in common. Lenin's conviction that the working class, alone, can never at-

tain a "revolutionary consciousness", and that this can only be supplied from "outside" by "professional revolutionaries", is echoed in the lesbian separatist feminist view that heterosexual women cannot be trusted to construct the matriarchal future because they live with and love the male oppressor. In both cases the contempt of the middle-class intellectual for the preferences and insights of the unenlightened majority is readily apparent.

In this respect both Leninism and the new social movements reveal their debt to the liberal ideologues of the 19th Century. Liberalism has always been willing to patronise the people, but it could never quite bring itself to trust them. Indeed, the idea of a "red republic" filled the bourgeoisie with horror. In June 1848, when the poor of Paris rose up against the "revolutionary" liberal regime's refusal to give them bread and work, they were cut down in their thousands by the middle-class National Guard. The parallels with the Bolsheviks' assault on Kronstadt are obvious.

One-hundred-and-thirty-seven years later, New Zealand feminists were equally aghast at the rank ingratitude of the masses when a series of "women's forums", organised by Labour's new women's ministry, ended up espousing "right-wing" (ie traditional) values. Rather than press forward with this excellent democratic experiment,

the women's ministry shut it down. Uncertain as to whether they could carry the progressive positions in open debate, the feminists opted instead to impose their "revolution" from above.

But if both the liberals and the left are unwilling to put their faith in the generosity and wisdom of working-class people, then their professed faith in the perfectibility of the human species is a complete sham. Like the Christians, they stand revealed as believers in "original sin". And like the conservatives, they indicate their true preference for a government of the wise few — rather than the ignorant many.

In New Zealand at present the urgent need is for a form of political organisation that sets out to do what the editor of *International Socialism Journal*, John Rees, declares to be impossible. A party that embraces the working class in its totality — from the ditch-digger and truck-driver, to the nurse and teacher, and from the shop assistant and clerical worker to the fire-fighter and radiographer — would provide the desperately needed forum wherein working people could freely (and without the fear of being branded "politically incorrect") discuss the challenges and triumphs of their daily existence.

That such a party would, in all prob-

ability, decide to set its sights on winning parliamentary representation should in no way diminish its centrality to the needs of the present struggle. Outside of the extremities of war and famine, working people evince little desire to utterly destroy the society in which they have grown up, paired off, and begun to raise a family. Most people are by inclination reformists — not revolutionaries — and it seems to them both more natural and more intelligent to turn the institutions of the state to their advantage than to repudiate them entirely.

The great virtue of such a party would be its diversity. The very fact that so many different occupations, so many levels of remuneration, and so many experiences of both exploitation and empowerment were forced to take thought for the good of the whole working class, would teach the members of such a party how to search for common ground. It would encourage the formulation of universal — rather than separatist — values, and reward those whose skills lay in the building of unity rather than division.

This is the experience that has been so long denied to working people by their middle-class "superiors" and their Marxist-Leninist "vanguards". The joy of free

expression, which enriches and emboldens the mind. And the challenge of defending their own policies, which forces every party to winnow out the wheat of truth from the chaff of error.

So often "militant" leftists turn to the experiences of trade union struggle for their inspiration. They speak blithely of the "solidarity of the picket-line" — as if standing in the rain for hours on end, being roughed up by the police, and then, after all that pain, seeing the scabs sweep by you onto the site, is somehow an inspiring event. It is not. What is inspiring is the fact that people will endure all of those things for the principle of solidarity — and for the hope of a better future at the end of the conflict.

That is what I mean when I say that the type of struggle New Zealand needs right now is neither economic nor political — but ideological. In 2002, the dinkum Kiwi socialist's mission is to make it possible for working people to dream their own dreams and see their own visions.

They have been burdened with the dreams of others for long enough.

● *Chris Trotter is the editor of the New Zealand Political Review.*

Real socialism from below

By MARK EDEN

It may seem obvious but it is impossible to go anywhere without first knowing where you are headed for. Without a clear view of the objective and the forces impeding or aiding your advance towards it one can become "all movement and no direction." One question which a socialist must always have on the tip of his or her tongue is where am I going and how can I get there? If you are heading for socialism then you must have a clear idea of what, exactly, it is.

The capitalist system causes wars, disease, famine and misery and is slowly killing our planet. But more than this it sells an illusion of freedom and individual choice while in fact, limiting even the

most basic civil liberties for most people in the world. But the choices, even for relatively "affluent consumers" in first world countries, are pitiful and banal — Adidas versus Nike, Spice girls versus Oasis, Coke vs Pepsi.

What people are lacking, more than anything else in this capitalist world is freedom. Anarchists aim to build a world where this problem can be solved. The anarchist version of socialism is a proposal for a free society. The task is to recreate society so that people can realise their full potential as free individuals. This is the most basic premise of anarchism. That said, there is no such thing as absolute liberty and we would always hold that my right to swing a frying pan ends where your nose begins. Maximum personal

freedom must be realised but not at the expense of others.

Freedom is central to anarchism. It is not an optional extra, it is basic to our conception of socialism. The only real guarantee of personal freedom is a non-exploitative, non hierarchical and collectively run system. The only way to create this is to hard wire it in to the struggle for socialism from the very start.

If the end is socialism and freedom then the means (of fighting for it) must justify that end. Freedom requires a particular social environment in which to blossom and grow. This must be based on direct democracy and direct management of production by ordinary people for the good of all. Direct management of production means that workers must take over their



Anarchist fighters in the Russian Civil War

workplaces, decide what is produced, how it is produced and why it is produced. This self-management must be not just on the level of the individual workplace but covering the entire economy.

In many revolutionary struggles workers have thrown up different organisations of workers' control or management to do just this. The Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Spain in 1936, Hungary 1956 and Portugal in 1974 all saw the emergence of workers' committees or councils.

All of these workers' formations were democratic but the democracy used was direct. Direct democracy is the democracy that anarchists advocate. It is different to parliamentary democracy and Leninist dictatorship in a number of ways:

1. Direct democracy is as much about coming up with new ideas as about giving the nod to proposals already worked out by some set of leaders. It means people originating ideas themselves.

2. It is about delegation. People are elected by assemblies to carry out particular tasks or mandates — if they fail to do this then someone else is elected in their place. Power is in the hands of the assemblies not the delegates.

3. It is about extending democracy to the workplace and therefore to the complete running of society so that we can decide what to produce and how. Only in this manner can socialism become what the Russian anarchist Michael Bakunin described it as: "the government of industry administered on behalf of the whole community". This would really be "government" by the people, of the people and for the people but not on behalf of the people.

We do not believe that the bosses will concede this easily or lightly. It will have to be fought for but again the means must justify the end. The tools which are needed and which, we think, should be built into every campaign against capitalism from the start is freedom and real democracy. This means that within unions, community groups and campaigns people must organise in a democratic way and always set their agenda. They must decide what they are fighting for and how they want to get there. This is the only way they can empower themselves and eliminate the dependence on leaders so essential to the functioning of capitalism. As Rudolf Rocker argued in his book *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, "Socialism will be free or it will not be at all".

Which brings us to Leninism.

The ideas of Lenin and his Bolshevik party dominated the revolutionary left for most of the last century, mainly because of the apparent success of the Russian revolution. But the Russian revolution failed to bring about freedom and socialism. Instead, as we all know, it ended up as Stalinist dictatorship. So, what went wrong?

For anarchists, the failure of Bolshevism came as no surprise. We have, from the beginning, argued that Marx made a grave mistake confusing workers' power with the state. This is because the state is the means by which the management of people's affairs is taken from them and placed into the hands of a few. It signifies delegated *power*. As such, the so-called "workers' state" is a contradiction in terms. Instead of signifying the power of the working class to manage society it, in fact, signifies the opposite, namely

the handing over of that power to a few party leaders at the top of a centralised structure.

The Bolsheviks organised as a vanguard party, which intended to lead the revolution. This structure led to particular outcomes and a look at the "hidden" history of the Russian revolution illustrates this. Lenin in *State and Revolution* talks of a society where every cook shall govern. But in reality the party in its capacity of leader of the revolution was governing.

Lenin in March 1918 wrote that the party relates to workers by leading

... them along the true path of labour discipline, along the task of coordinating the task of arguing at mass meetings about the conditions of work with the task of unquestioningly obeying the will of the soviet leader, of the dictator during the work.

So much for every cook governing. These are not just isolated incidents. The party soon began to institutionalise its dominance, for instance factory committees instead of being allowed to form federations had to report to undemocratic bodies which were hand picked by the party.

Leninists pay lip-service to working class self-activity and self-organisation as well as workers' councils (soviets), factory committees, workers' control, revocable and mandated delegates. They do so in order to ensure the election of their party into positions of power (ie into government). Faced with a conflict between workers' power and party power they will crush the former to ensure the latter — as the Russian revolution showed repeatedly.

Leninists justify this in terms of the “uneven” political development within the working class. In contrast, anarchists argue that precisely *because* of political differences we need the fullest possible democracy and freedom to discuss issues and reach agreements. Only by discussion and self-activity can the political perspectives of those in struggle develop and change. In other words, the fact Bolshevism uses to justify its support for party power is the strongest argument against it.

For anarchists, the idea of a revolutionary government is a contradiction. As Italian anarchist Malatesta put it:

If you consider these worthy electors as unable to look after their own interests themselves, how is it that they will know how to choose for themselves the shepherds who must guide them? And how will they be able to solve this problem of social alchemy, of producing a genius from the votes of a mass of fools?

Anarchists think that power should be in the hands of the masses themselves. Only freedom or the struggle for freedom can be the school of freedom. That means that, to quote Bakunin:

Since it is the people which must make the revolution everywhere... the ultimate direction of it must at all times be vested in the people organised into a free federation of agricultural and industrial organisations... organised from the bottom up through revolutionary delegation.

The difference between anarchists and Marxists on the issue of the state is that we recognise that the state bureaucracy has interests of its own due to its hierarchical nature. This means that any state-like organisation will develop a bureaucracy with interests separate and opposed to the people it claims to represent. Kropotkin explained that anarchists

... maintain that the State organisation, having been the force to which minorities resorted for establishing and organising their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy these privileges.

The so-called “workers’ state” is no exception to this as it is based on the same principles of delegation of power into the hands of the few every state is based on.

The problem with the Socialist Worker’s “Socialism from below” is that it is based on Leninism, a doctrine in theory and practise that is “Socialism from above”. It’s time that Leninism was consigned to the rubbish-bin of history where it belongs. We can’t afford to repeat the mistakes of the past again.

● Mark Eden is a member of the Wildcat Anarchist Group in Wellington. Wildcat can be reached at PO Box 6387, Wellington.

Large parts of this article were based on an article at <http://struggle.ws/once/sfb_intro.html>

SOCIALIST WORKER’S REPLY

Practice will show who’s right

By GRANT BROOKES

“The capitalist system”, says Mark Eden, “causes wars, diseases, famine and misery and is slowly killing our planet.”

Another world is surely possible. How do we win it?

For Socialist Worker, like Mark, another world will only be possible through a revolution that places power in the hands of the masses themselves.

Chris Trotter, of course, is absolutely right that the majority of people today are reformist, not revolutionary, by inclination.

But because capitalism will never be free of the extremities of war and famine — or stock market crashes and mass unemployment — those who are reformist today can be radicalised by experience and support revolution tomorrow.

The lessons of past revolutions will be important in guiding the struggles to come.

The articles from Chris and Mark both touch on the Russian revolution of 1917 and Lenin’s role in it. The key question, as Mark points out, is “What went wrong?”

For Chris, Lenin’s inability to trust the people led to dictatorship.

But the “Lenin” Chris attacks is a cardboard cut-out.

Early in his career, as Chris mentions, Lenin believed that the working class could never attain revolutionary consciousness without outside help from professional revolutionaries.

But by 1905, Lenin had learned that “the working class feels an instinctive urge for open revolutionary action”.

For the rest of his life Lenin downplayed his earlier views and clung to the faith that Chris professes, in the wisdom of working class people.

“The elementary instinct of the working class movement”, he wrote, “is able to correct the conceptions of the greatest minds”.

For Mark, it was the centralised structure of the Bolshevik party that led to Stalin’s dictatorship.

Not long after the revolution, it’s true, it was an increasingly bureaucratic Bolshevik party, rather than

“every cook”, who was governing.

But Lenin agonised over the creeping failure of the revolution and fought daily to stop it.

“We threw out the old bureaucrats”, he said in 1919, “but they have come back. We must fight this scum again and again and if the scum has come back we must again and again clean it up.”

What’s missing from Mark’s explanation are other factors, apart from the Bolshevik’s party structure, that might explain the failure.

He doesn’t mention that 13 capitalist nations banded together to invade Russia a year after the revolution. Two years of war killed over half the workers of Russia and ruined vast swathes of the country.

It was in these conditions that the Bolshevik party came to substitute itself for the rule of a decimated, exhausted working class. War, not Leninism, destroyed workers’ power in Russia.

Socialist Worker believes that Lenin’s ideas about the revolutionary party are still the best starting point for opposing the system today.

We organise as a militant minority in one body in order to argue with one voice for the maximum unity of workers in struggle.

Socialist Worker is known in the anti-war movement as an organisation that fights for “free and open debate involving as many layers of the working class as possible”, as Chris puts it. That is our “party line”.

We argued for the anti-war movement to embrace the unions, and went out and invited trade unionists to organising meetings ourselves.

We had to argue at various points that Greens, Alliance and — yes — Labour Party members should be welcome on the protests.

It’s only when the mass of workers, holding diverse political views, unite in struggle that another world will be possible. So we celebrate unity with anarchists like Mark and reformists like Chris.

But we also debate, in the knowledge that practice will show who’s right.

They can't fence in the movement

Fences and Windows
Naomi Klein
Flamingo

Reviewed by **SAM ASHMAN**

Naomi Klein worked on her first book, *No Logo*, in the four years before the great anti-capitalist protests in Seattle. It was published just after and — according to the *Guardian* — sold 180,000 copies in Britain last year alone.

Now she has a new book out. It is a collection of the various pieces of journalism she has written since *No Logo* propelled her to the forefront of the movement against capitalist globalisation.

For those who read about and participate in the movement, many of the pieces in this collection will be familiar.



Naomi Klein

Arranged chronologically, they contain Klein's reflections on the protests at Seattle, Washington DC, Los Angeles and Prague.

There are also pieces against the North American Free Trade Agreement, genetically modified

organisms, violence against protesters, and in praise of the Zapatistas in Mexico and Italy's social centres.

She is particularly effective when sticking the knife into the supposed benefits of free trade. She writes:

"Whenever I hear the phrase 'free trade', I can't help picturing the caged factories I visited in the Philippines and Indonesia that are all surrounded by gates, watchtowers and soldiers _to keep the highly subsidised products from leaking out and the union organisers from getting in."

She is also good when discussing whether the movement is really "anti" globalisation at all.

Instead Klein says the protesters and activists are internationalists who are fighting a

particular model of globalisation, the neo-liberal model which globalises privatisation and deregulation, and boosts corporations' profits.

But this is not the book for those who want in-depth analysis of either the system or where the movement goes next.

The articles repeat her argument that the diversity and dynamism of the movement are alone creating an alternative economic model.

This is not enough. The movement faces powerful obstacles, not least a world system of states whose top dog, the US, is about to use its military might to decimate Iraq.

Fences and Windows is more of a good introduction. It'd make a great Christmas present.

Unrepentant rebel confronts war fever

Jerusalem
Steve Earle
Artemis Records

Review by **BILL NEVINS**

Steve Earle is unrepentant, as one of his toughest songs declares. He makes no apologies for his past dissent and rebellion, and he does not back down from saying what he sees in America now. It's no pretty picture.

While Bruce Springsteen's latest album, *The Rising*, teases shimmering, half-comforting pieties from his vision of the fallen World Trade Center towers, Earle in the opening song of his new album, *Jerusalem*, chants "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust" and reminds us:

*That every tower ever built
 tumbles
 No matter how strong no matter
 how tall...
 And every idol ever raised
 falls*

Earle lets loose a jeremiad in this CD, propelled by an astute rocker's fury at the greed, ineptitude and murderous chicanery he sees as constituting the true rising tide in the USA today. Earle's vision of what is coming into being is closer to Yeats' "Second Coming" night-



mare of a "rough beast slouching towards Bethlehem to be born" than of a stricken nation rallying together to make a noble stand against evil.

In his liner notes to *Jerusalem*, Earle confides that the US flag stickers now plastered all over this land fill him with chilling memories of the years when the US flag was wielded as a threat by Vietnam War "hawks" who demanded "unity" in a time of national crisis — "America, love it or leave it" — and how the US then descended into bitter, violent internal strife. Earle's American "dream" is less of shining towers of light than of the places of imprisonment and execution he has so often visited.

It is a bleak prophecy Earle puts forward (though set in some of his most lovely music, augmented by Emmy Lou Harris) and he surely will be criticised for it.

He already has been in the reactionary wail of objection to "John Walker's Blues", a stunning cut on *Jerusalem* which slips inside the imagined mind of the idealistic, religiously devout American youth who went to fight a failed war far from home:

*As death filled the air we all
 offered up prayers
 And prepared for our martyrdom...
 Now they're draggin' me back
 with my head in a sack
 To the land of the infidel*

Earle has always sketched bitter warriors well: mercenaries, Confederate grunts, Irish Fenians and the gun-toting pot-farming Vietnam vet in his signature song, "Copperhead Road". His *Jerusalem* portrait of young John Walker Lindh is counterposed to another band of fighting brothers, the Americans killed in Vietnam:

*Half a million soldiers fly
 across the water
 One in 10 are never comin'
 back again
 50,000 sons who never grew to
 fathers
 Don't you ever wonder who
 they might have been*

Earle's setting of this lesson

from recent US history in the present tense gives it a chilling cautionary tone — the prophet looks at the past and sees a possible future.

Clearly, Earle intends *Jerusalem* as a warning, and just as clearly sees himself as a defiant patriot, clear-eyed enough to see the Patriot Act as the dire threat to the US constitution that it is. Just as Oliver Stone was labelled "Hollywood's house paranoid", so Earle is sure to be accused of wild-eyed delusions or worse.

After all, this is a time when smug, rich, Stetson-crowned country stars have revived Merle Haggard's corny chestnut, "Fightin' Side of Me" as a singalong anthem for the new US war fever. And when sincere, skilled songsters like Neal Young and Springsteen can do little more than offer war prayers for peace.

Steve Earle, on the other hand, continues to show his fighting side. He's picked a fight worth fighting. A battle for the soul of his country, and perhaps the future of the world. *Jerusalem* is a rousing opening salvo.

● From Green Left Weekly,
 September 4, 2002.
www.greenleft.org.au

Bringing socialism back into view

The publication of this book is an exciting event.

It's both a sign of the reawakening interest in socialism in New Zealand and a spur to debates that are likely to grow.

In their introduction, editors Kerry Taylor and Pat Moloney explain why it's time to "bring the left back in" to our historical consciousness:

"The political and economic certainties of the post-war period, and the myths woven around them", they say, "have been shattered by global changes and the successful neo-liberal challenge to the welfare state in the closing decades of the twentieth century."

What's more, "the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s liberated those interested in the left from the orthodoxies enforced by that ideological divide".

Curiously, perhaps, the spread of global anti-capitalist and anti-war movements to our shores and the grassroots revival of the left in Aotearoa are not among their reasons for re-examining socialism.

Debate

But the aim of the editors to include a range of socialist perspectives will help spark debate on the question repeated through the book — "What is socialism in New Zealand?"

On the Left — Essays on Socialism in New Zealand is made up of 11 chapters. Each chapter spans a few decades, starting in the 1880s, and deals with particular issues and organisations.

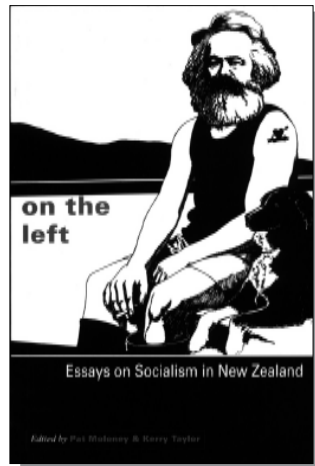
Although the 11 authors are academics, most chapters are written in fairly accessible language.

There are a number of questions, besides those raised in the introduction, running through the book — questions that are crucial for the left today.

For example, can state control and government intervention alleviate the horrors of capitalism, or do we have to mobilise independently from below against the state?

Today the Alliance champions state-owned Kiwibank as a brake on corporate greed and left-wing academic Jane Kelsey advocates stronger nation states to buttress against globalisation.

An interesting chapter on



On the Left — Essays on Socialism in New Zealand

Edited by Pat Moloney & Kerry Taylor
Otago University Press, \$39.95

Reviewed by GRANT BROOKES

■ Socialist Worker Monthly Review welcomes responses and alternative reviews of this major new book.

"State socialism and William Pember Reeves: A Reassessment" looks back at the debates over the role of the state from the 1880s to the First World War.

It shows that Reeves' "state socialism" fitted with anti-Asian racism — a nasty combination later seen in the Labour Party from its earliest years.

And a chapter on "Governments, the Police and the Left, 1912-1951" shows how a core organ of the state, the police, targeted socialists and trade unionists "to reinforce conservatism in New Zealand politics".

Another question running especially through the latter part of the book is the role of "Leninist parties" in broader movements since the 1960s.

Today this question is being raised again in the anti-capitalist movement. It was a key debate at the European Social Forum in Florence last month.

The chapters on "The New Left in New Zealand" and "Organising the Unemployed", in particular, reject Leninism in favour of "informal groupings that were non-sectarian, anti-bureaucratic and decentralised" or "a collective, non-hierarchical model of organising" drawn from women's liberation groups.

These chapters contain some inaccuracies in places. The chapter on the New Left, for instance, dismisses older "Leninist parties". It says they had "focused almost exclusively on issues of class exploitation".

The New Left of the sixties, supposedly by contrast, took up wider issues like sporting ties with apartheid South Africa.

This claim comes after the chapter which describes the Communist Party's involvement in the campaign to boycott the 1937 Springbok Tour.

Another inaccuracy is the description of the struggle inside the 1988 March Against Unemployment from Te Hapua to Wellington.

This is described as a conflict "between the autocratic methods of the CPNZ [Communist Party] and the participatory democracy of Te Roopu Rawakore", the organisation of unemployed workers' rights groups led by Sue Bradford.

But the conflict was not over "method". It was a disagreement over what the March should do once it reached the capital.

Some in Te Roopu Rawakore favoured offers of "constructive engagement" with the government.

A series of hui along the route, however, had agreed with the CPNZ that the March should oppose the Labour government and not get sucked into small-group meetings with ministers behind closed doors.

A final question running through the book is how useful social class is in understanding capitalism and resisting it.

Most of the authors see a focus on class as inadequate for fighting racism and sexism.

Socialists must be dedicated to fighting racism and sexism. But this isn't separate from the class struggle?

Especially since the 1970s, some Pakeha workers have fought their bosses to support Maori rights.

And though not mentioned, all-male unions like the water-

siders in the 1940s advanced pay equity for women.

Ultimately, only working class unity has the power to sweep aside the capitalist system that sustains sexism and racism.

In places, the book provides a wealth of detail, but doesn't show how the details fit into the bigger picture. This can make the history hard to understand.

The final chapter, "Writing the Left Into the Picture: An Interview With Erik Olssen", touches on this problem.

Olssen talks about how Marxist historians like E P Thompson influenced him to look at "the intersection of human life, ideas and material constraint".

The spectacular disintegration of the women's liberation movement in the late 1970s, for example, is described in detail in two chapters.

Marxism

Showing how this was linked to the defeat of the workers' movement and the left as a whole, as the "material constraint" of economic crisis spurred government attacks would have helped to explain why the different women's groups were suddenly at each others' throats.

The editors acknowledge that it's not "a definitive treatment of the left in New Zealand". But despite some shortcomings, *On the Left* is a marvellous book.

The history of New Zealand taught in schools and portrayed in the media is one prescribed by our rulers.

The momentous struggles by ordinary people against capitalism and oppression are caricatured or left out altogether. This book fills in some of the gaps.

"For over a hundred years", say the editors, "socialism has been an important element in New Zealand politics".

"At certain moments in New Zealand's history, socialists have been contenders for political power and socialist ideas have been embraced by significant sections of the community."

If you didn't know that, you're not alone. But this book can help you find out more.

When Store Wars comes to town

Store Wars:

When Wal-Mart Comes to Town

Directed by Micha Peled

Reviewed by DAVID COLYER

Micha Peled spent a year in Ashland, Virginia documenting the campaign to stop a Wal-Mart store being built on the out-skirts of this small town.

The great strength of the film is that we get to see the characters on both sides of the debate over a long period of time, in a wide range of situations. The people really come alive because we see them change and grow.

Information about Wal-Mart and why people are campaigning against it is woven into the narrative. In some instances the audience finds things out as the characters do.

Most of the arguments — for and against — are given by the local people. Wal-Mart spokespeople are only filmed when they show up in the town.

Those who were used to running Ashland are clearly uncomfortable with the anti-Wal-Mart campaigners disturbing the established order.

My favourite moment was when one of these men suggests that the small street protests against Wal-Mart are the kind of events that led to the French Revolution. I guess he was not aware that the French were inspired by the revolution Americans like him celebrate every year on the Fourth of July.

FROM FILM TO CAMPAIGN

The film tour, which covered towns from Invercargill to Auckland during September and October, aimed to build opposition to “big box” retailers.

In Napier, *Store Wars* has already been shown again as part of a campaign against a big box development.

Director Micha Peled says:

I want to bring the film to towns where they are facing big controversies around sprawl. The impact is massive. The social heart of the town stops beating and the public space gets privatised as the centre of the community shifts to the out-of-town shopping mall.

At the Auckland screening which I attended, a woman speaking from the floor linked the privatisation of public space to the toll roads planned by the Labour government and Auckland mayor John Banks.

Summing up the implications of this privatisation, she said: “You cannot hold a demonstration in a mall.”

Warren Snow, who organised the tour, used to work for The Warehouse and says it operates in a similar way to Wal-Mart.

For him the campaign is about more than the kinds of places we go shopping.

It's about the kind of world we live in and how decisions about this world are



Fighting back against “Wal-Mart’s war on workers” in Lynn, Massachusetts.

November 21 was a national “Wal-Mart Day of Action” in the US. This combined a unionisation drive with protests against the company’s use of sweatshop labour to make its products and the other issues raised in the *Store Wars* film.

You can find more info about the campaign at these websites:

www.walmartwatch.com

www.walmartswaronworkers.com

www.walmartdayofaction.com

made.

Snow explained how big boxes link a number of seemingly separate issues to town planning:

- Low wages and lack of rights of retail and manufacturing workers in both Western and Third World countries.

- Lack of democracy as corporate developers over-ride the wishes of local people.

- The privatisation of public spaces.
- The domination of our lives by big business.

Behind all these problems is capitalism’s profit motive.

“These companies are not capable of putting limits on themselves, because of the responsibilities of directors to make a return for shareholders,” Snow explained.

Snow attacked the idea that important decisions about human society should be left up to the “free market” and profit driven corporations.

“The market has proven it won’t protect the rainforest or the bottlenose dolphin.”

He asked: “Do we need to create new rules[to govern society]?”

WHAT CAN WE DO?

The actions Snow suggested people can take fell short of the big problems he identified.

Snow advocated consumer boycotts. “We can change the world with our pocket

books”, he said, by choosing not to shop at the Warehouse and other undesirable retailers.

But this approach leaves us trapped within a market-driven world where the dollar is king. And those whose “pocket books” have been left empty by the policies pushed by the corporates remain powerless.

The idea that the way to fight the corporates is to “hit them where it hurts” — their profit margin — is dead right. But the greatest economic power most people have is not as consumers, but as producers of wealth.

Working at a Warehouse or Wal-Mart or slaving away in a sweatshop, is a position of exploitation, but it’s also a position of *potential* strength. When workers strike the profits stop. That gives the working class the power to make a better world.

Strikes and demands for better working conditions can also hit small employers. This causes a conflict between workers and the small business people that Warren Snow are focussing on.

The relationship between working class socialism and middle class radicalism needs to be discussed in greater depth.

● Warren Snow is setting up a webpage and e-mail list and can be contacted via e-mail: mailbox@envision-nz.com, or through Sarah on (09) 489 2129.

Standing up against war and police brutality

By GRANT BROOKES

Building the upcoming anti-war march on December 14 has been the main focus for Socialist Worker members in Wellington over the last month.

At our street stalls in Cuba Mall (Saturday morning), Wellington railway station (Friday rush hour) and Petone (Thursday lunch-time), we've helped to spread the word by giving out leaflets and talking to shoppers and commuters. A supporter at Tranz Metro distributed our anti-war leaflets

among rail workers.

Socialist Worker members were also invited to speak to the monthly stopwork meeting of the Seafarers Union on November 11.

We argued that a war in Iraq would also see George Bush step up his war on the unions. He had already threatened the longshoremen (watersiders) on the West Coast with the use of troops to break their union, in the name of "national security", if they went on strike.

Wellington seafarers had

earlier joined the longshoremen's picket lines in Los Angeles as a show of solidarity.

The meeting agreed to send a delegation on the anti-war march with the union banner and decided to donate \$500 to the Socialist Worker Printing Press Appeal.

Besides anti-war activity, Socialist Worker members have also been raising support for the family of Steven Wallace, who were taking a murder prosecution against constable Keith Abbott in the Wellington high court.

A small amount of money was collected on the street for the Steven Wallace Fund for Justice, and we hope that the hundreds of leaflets given out to commuters and to factory workers in Lower Hutt will result in more phone calls (to make a \$20 donation) to 0900 JUSTICE (0900 58784).

Wellington readers who want to get involved in this activity can call the contact number on the next page. With more helpers, socialist ideas for resistance can reach an even wider audience.

Takin' it to the street

By KANE FORBES

November was a busy month for socialists in Auckland.

We've been out with our two leaflets, *Justice for Steven Wallace* and *Capitalism's Evil Axis — War, GE and Free Trade*.

We got a great response at the 10,000-strong GE-free rally to our *Evil Axis* leaflet. Heaps of people were already drawing the links between these issues and were stoked with our contribution.

We had a "Capitalism's

Evil Axis" banner at our stall which drew a lot of people. One person asked if we had any "Capitalism's Evil Axis" t-shirts, not a bad idea.

After the rally, we updated the leaflet and included an ad for the anti-war protest on December 14.

Once a week we leaflet the Auckland Central Hospital, Sky City casino and Kiwi Packaging. We also have a stall on Saturdays at Aotea Square.

Recently a hospital worker thanked me warmly for a

leaflet and said she had been learning a lot on her way home from work on Fridays.

The Steven Wallace leaflet got some negative responses, but, overall, I was surprised at the huge amount of public sympathy. Almost every young Maori or Pacific person will take these leaflets, many want to take some away for friends and whanau.

A Palestinian Symposium held on November 26 was an exciting event. There was a huge range of speakers; Palestinians and others from

the Middle East, members of the Greens, the Alliance and Socialist Worker, trade unionists and others.

When Michael Franti, a prominent anti-war musician, played in town we leafleted the concert. Michael read out the details of the December 14 rally off our leaflet, gave a massive shout out to the anti-war movement and declared that he was proud to be a part of it. Then he played "You can bomb the world to pieces but you can't bomb it into peace".

Socialist books

STOP THE WAR ON IRAQ The case against Bush and Blair



George Bush and Tony Blair are intent on waging a bloody war on Iraq.

They talk of "weapons of mass destruction" and a "war against terror" even as they aim their deadly "smart bombs" and cruise missiles on the ordinary people of Iraq. They do not care that the Iraqi people are already suffering from the effects of war and a decade of sanctions that has killed a million children.

Our leaders talk about democracy, but in reality their war is about oil, and US military and economic dominance.

This pamphlet argues that we should not fall for Bush and Blair's lies, and that people everywhere should unite to stop this war.

- We answer the lies of George Bush and Tony Blair.
- We explain what their real motives for war are, and how they can be stopped.

- We argue that war flows from the logic of a system based on exploitation and profit the world over.

- And we show that we will need a challenge to that whole system if we are to win a world free forever from the horror of war.

- We also reprint extracts from articles by anti-war writers John Pilger, Robert Fisk and Noam Chomsky.

Read this pamphlet, sell it and pass it on.

Send \$4 to PO Box 13-685 Auckland

Contact the socialists near you

★ NORTHLAND

Phone: **Vaughan** (09) 433 8897
Email: vaughang@ihug.co.nz

★ AUCKLAND

Meets 7.30pm every Tuesday at the Trade Union Centre, 147 Great North Rd, Grey Lynn. Transport available.

Phone: **Len** 634 3984
Email: socialist-worker@pl.net

★ TAURANGA

Phone: **Tony** 544 1859
Email: hatosnell@hotmail.com

★ ROTORUA

Phone: **Bernie** 345 9853
Email: bernieh@clear.net.nz

★ NEW PLYMOUTH

Email: edithandal@pocketmail.com.au

★ WELLINGTON

Meets 7.30pm every Monday at Room 2, Crossways (back entrance), Elizabeth St, Mt Victoria.

Phone: **Grant** 566 8538
Fax: (04) 566 8532
Email: grant_brookes@paradise.net.nz

★ CHRISTCHURCH

Phone: **Don** 385 5268
Email: dwa@netaccess.co.nz

★ TIMARU

Phone: **Vaughan** 686 6498

★ NATIONAL OFFICE

Socialist Worker members elsewhere in Aotearoa and our sister organisations overseas can be contacted through Socialist Worker's national office.

Phone: **(09) 634 3984**
Fax: **(09) 634 3936**
Write: **PO Box 13-685 Auckland**
Email: **socialist-worker@pl.net**

**Socialist Worker
Monthly Review**
is on the internet
http://au.geocities.com/swo_nz/

Socialist Worker

WHERE WE STAND



SOCIALISM

Capitalism is a system of exploitation which generates inequality, crisis and war. Although workers create society's wealth, it is controlled by the ruling class for its own selfish ends.

Socialism can only be built when the working class takes control of social wealth and democratically plans its production and distribution to meet human needs, not private profits. This will eliminate all class divisions in society.

Stalinist countries such as China and Cuba, just like the former Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc, have nothing to do with socialism. They are state capitalist. We support the struggles of workers against every dictatorial stalinist ruling class.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORMISM

The present system cannot be reformed to end exploitation and oppression, contrary to what Alliance, Labour and union leaders claim. It must be overthrown by the working class.

Capitalism's parliament, army, police and judiciary protect the ruling class. These institutions cannot be taken over and used by the working class.

To pave the way to socialism the working class needs a new kind of state—a democratic workers state based on workers councils and workers militia.

INTERNATIONALISM

Workers in every country are exploited by capitalism, so the struggle for socialism is global.

We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries. We fight racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls. We support all genuine national liberation struggles.

We are internationalists because socialism depends on spreading working class revolutions around the world.

LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION

We fight for democratic rights. We oppose the oppression of women, Maori, Pacific Islanders, lesbians and gays.

All forms of oppression are used to divide the working class.

We support the right of all oppressed groups to organise for their own defence. Their liberation is essential to socialist revolution and impossible without it.

TINO RANGATIRATANGA

We support the struggle for Maori self determination.

The government's approach to Treaty claims has benefited a Maori elite while doing little for working class Maori.

Tino rangatiratanga cannot be achieved within capitalism. It will only become a reality with the establishment of a workers' state.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a mass revolutionary socialist party.

We are in the early stages of building such a party through involvement in the day-to-day struggles of workers and the oppressed.

The Socialist Workers Organisation must grow in size and influence to provide leadership in the struggle for working class self-emancipation.

We need to revitalise the unions with a rank-and-file movement.

If you like our ideas and want to fight for socialism, then join us.

Want to fight for a better world? Join Socialist Worker

- ☐ I want to attend a socialist meeting
☐ I want to join Socialist Worker

NAME..... PHONE.....

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Black Caps win by 100,000!

Now the jockeys are striking, well I'm asking you, since there are no races, what can a man do...

A rare sporting strike inspired that old Slim Dusty song; another should be sung today in celebration of the cricketers' industrial win.

Because the game of cricket is now primarily a multimillion dollar entertainment business, strikes by its skilled workers are top news.

Every hour of the six-week stoppage generated thousands of angry words; mostly in condemnation of the striking players. Editorials raged at the cricketers' defiant action. Talkback radio voiced sports fans fearful of losing their ration of summer excitement.

Now the strike's over and "things are back to normal", what are we left with?

First off, the workers won.

Players won an average 15% pay rise. The final package was \$100,000 more than the cricket bosses' previous "final offer".

Secondly, the workers won through in very difficult circumstances.

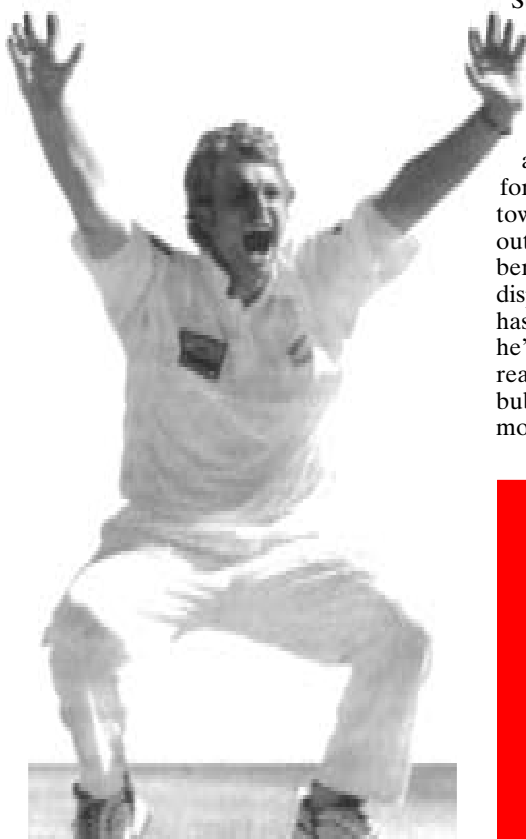
All strikers get stick, the cricketers got heaps. The cricket bosses spent much time and money trying to split the players' unity. Establishment commentators supported the bosses.

Many strike opponents should have known better, like *Listener* writer Joseph Romanos who used most of his November 9 column slamming the strikers. (Romanos also raised one fair question: "Why is the cricketers' union not batting for women players as well?")

Engineers Union Secretary Andrew Little publicly attacked the strikers, for not

following the letter of the government's Employment Relations Act. How pathetic. Andrew Little's slavish compliance with the ERA in his union's recent dispute at Kinleith has netted 100% less for his members than the cricketers' direct action achieved.

Other officials showed some solidarity.



Council of Trade Unions President Ross Wilson backed the Cricketers Association and called on the CTU's 300,000 members and their families to stand behind it.

At the strike's end, Linda Clark interviewed captain Stephen Fleming on National radio. This was right after Clark's polite chat to the prime minister about NZ backing the US invasion of Iraq. When Stephen Fleming came on, Clark's politeness was replaced with relentless hostility. Fleming countered by patiently insisting that his aim was to form a "partnership" with NZ cricket. Fleming repeated that mantra frequently and woodenly, like a line he was learning for a play. But he suddenly came to life towards the end of the interview, blurring out how pleased he'd been with his member's solidarity and "strength" during the dispute. Fleming tried to recover his "slip" hastily adding "strength wasn't quite what he'd meant". Too late. The excitement of a real united workers' win had irrepressibly bubbled up through all the bullshit one more time.

ORGANISED LABOUR ON THE MOVE

Join the **WORKERS SHOULD BE RUNNING THE COUNTRY** team which will enter the January 19 City of Wellington full & half marathon.
For accommodation and T-shirt, call Don (04) 9723298.

When people are powerful

People Power. Put together, those two words call up the image of active democratic resistance to oppression. People Power has become a favourite expression in the anti-capitalist movement.

How does People Power work best?

People are many things all at once. People may be lovers, caregivers, athletes, musicians, travellers, protesters, invalids, drunks, home renovators and a thousand other things at different times of their week. But the thing most of us have in common is that we are workers.

Well over 80% of people in Aotearoa live by selling their ability to work.

And, although most of the time it doesn't look that way, its when we identify and act as workers, that we're potentially

most powerful.

People are most powerful when they are workers, not consumers.

A group of bus drivers wanting a wage rise, like Wellington trammies do right now, could try pressuring the company by encouraging their friends to walk or drive instead of getting the bus. The drivers are unlikely to try that tactic, and much more likely to strike in pursuit of their aims, because that works best. In less than an hour the effect of striking drivers is powerfully expressed right across the city.

Mass strike action recently got an increase for secondary teachers; use of "the proper channels" by The Engineers Union at Kinleith failed to deliver.

An activist advocate of direct action

working on a big site is in the best position to be an effective anti-capitalist.

These days, employment choices are limited, but even so, committed anti-capitalists should consider making a political decision to work on a big site.

On big worksites you can spread information and ideas and, more importantly, test those ideas in practice. You can also learn stuff that isn't in the books. My first meeting as a union delegate I rushed through as fast as I could, so we'd be back to work before the end of smoko whistle. I remember the workers trudging slowly away at the end; one woman hurling back at me: "You were the only one at that meeting! We needed time to discuss the issue properly. Bugger the whistle!"